291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her
breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
301 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
751 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
855 to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
[304] their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although
this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
302 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
855 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
291 theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-
day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time
she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently then take her into account and endeavor to train her in feminine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has already been made use of very early in the family life, since, as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that they show more concern than if they treated her as a child. Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: menstruation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kinswoman with the most authority.

[23 cont.]

*756 787 to divine his future by means of a firebrand, and sees that it does not burn or blaze. His spirit has abandoned him and no longer comes at his call. Finally, the spirit descends to him and says, "This has happened to you because you did not obey me on such-and-such an occasion."

Up to now there are two clear examples of the relation between unknown lands and death in the case of the shaman. Let us recall the talks held between the shaman and his protector spirit during the ceremony for curing a sick person, in which the protector spirit describes to him a marvelous country crossed by wide, blue rivers as a dwelling place to enter after death. Now this same representation reappears in his dream, which implies a vision of the world beyond the tomb to which he will shortly go.

[755] If during a curing ceremony he should dream that at some time during the dance which he has demanded for the total rehabilitation of the sick man he sees a group of rich Indian women arrive mounted on horses, bringing with them in a pitcher a small quantity of water or rum with which they bathe the sick person and then blow on him at midnight, this means that the sick man in question will recover completely and will not have a relapse.

● 751 *756 787 At other times the shaman may dream that someone is going to be killed. To avert the danger he goes to the relatives of the person dreamed of to order them to perform a sacrifice or ceremony such as the following. They must bring a heifer of a certain color, slaughter it at dawn, and bathe in its blood the Indian on whom the tragedy is to fall according to the dream. To end the ceremony they must hold a chicha-maya dance. The Indian referred to must follow strictly the orders of the shaman [24] otherwise, there is no doubt that a tragedy will befall him, so the natives affirm. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice.")

There is a story, for example, of a female shaman who dreamed that she should "shamanize" an Indian woman with rum and hold a chicha-maya dance, or otherwise death would rapidly overtake her. The woman of the dream did not obey the orders of the shaman, and a few days later she had a quarrel with her [76] husband, who struck her, and, broken-hearted over her husband's action, she hung herself from a tree at midnight.

[47 cont.]
character of the inhabitants of Jarara; and second, the complete disappearance (according to all sources) of the Kusina Indians in the last 20 to 25 years for various reasons. In other words, the arrows which may still exist but of which we could not obtain a sample are those preserved by the aged Indians of Jarara, purchased from the makers in times past.

Sacrifice to forestall the effects of dreams. In the Guajiro mentality dreams are considered to be revelations of the future, coming from a benign spirit who seeks in this way to show his protection to a certain person. When the shaman himself has the revealing dreams then these acquire greater importance, as we have already seen. For the same reason, when one of these shamans has a special dream, he informs the interested party and adds to it the necessary instructions or special ceremonies that he should arrange in order to counteract the prognostication. If such ceremonies are not carried out or are not totally complied with, the dream will become converted to reality. The Guajiro has immense faith in dreams, particularly in those of shamans, and very few persons will leave themselves open to suffer the consequences of the nonfulfillment of the rituals indicated, as experience, according to them, has [48] shown that noncompliance with the indications of the shamans has resulted in many deaths and disasters when the events foretold have taken place.

As the aspect of dreams is treated in a special section, we will here only refer to the theme which interests us and which is related to sacrifices. In this respect we quote the narrative of one of our informants.

This occurred in Jarara. A woman shaman dreamed that a member of the Pushaina family clan was threatened with a fatal tragedy: he would die by the hand of one of his own family group. The shaman immediately informed him of it and ordered him, in order to avert the danger, to organize a fiesta of horse racing and, above all, to sacrifice a black male goat and to bathe himself in its blood. The Indian did not want to carry out the shaman's instructions, and within a short time he was killed by a member of his own group of inferior economic standing. The reprisals taken against the

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol- [569] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with 781 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as 761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in 761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia, 825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be- 538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the *people of the house*, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

[61 cont.]

825 843 twining itself around it, and with its tail, which is very thin, it pierces his ear. The pressure is so great that generally the tip of its tail comes out of the other ear, which causes the death of the person attacked. The method of defense does not invoke magic as in other cases but is limited to the simple precaution [751] taken by the woman of going about with a pañuelo [kerchief] on her head which covers her ears. Hence the serpent winds itself around the head but is unable to introduce its tail into the ear of the victim. The woman, on reaching home or on meeting someone, will be able to take revenge on the snake and kill it. But the snake also takes its own precautions, according to the story, as, if the husband and wife walk together, it will not attack for fear that the man will kill it.

Up to this point the story is no more than an interesting legend, the fruit of the primitive's imagination, but for the study we are interested in the latter part of the story, which runs as follows, has great value. If the same serpent on the other hand sees a woman when her pregnancy is advanced (after the fourth month), the woman seems to have an evil influence on the snake, which appears to suffer from paralysis and becomes helpless, lying on the [62] ground unable to spring into the trees. There in that condition it can be easily killed. If it is not dispatched at this moment, the snake recovers its strength and agility as soon as the woman goes away.

Once again we see the magic interaction of serpent and pregnant woman. But there is this difference between the magic action of the other animals which makes its influence felt through the mother upon the child to be born, and that of the serpent which discharges all its magic power directly on the mother, provoking in her pains and delays at birth, abortions, etc. We would ask why?

We have up to this point collected a series of facts which quite clearly show the magic-participatory action of animals in the lives of the Guajiro natives and above all in what refers to the explanation for the presence of sickness. Furthermore, the action of the snake is related to one of the most interesting phenomena in the life cycle, childbirth, which includes the

[65 cont.]

843 and very carefully wash it [in water]. Giving the woman this
845 water to drink will permit her to deliver the child immediately.

If a Guajiro father has to set off on a long journey on
751 horseback, leaving behind his newborn son, he must comply
854 with another custom of a magic nature, which requires him to
492 wrap the cinch of his horse about the child for a few minutes. If he fails to do this, the child will be very ill and complain pitifully during the time his father is absent. An equivalent form under the same circumstances is the father's customarily placing his foot on the newborn baby's chest for a brief moment. If this obligation is not complied with, either through forgetfulness or all will on the part of the father, the mother, or some close relative of the child, must find the father's old sandals and place them on the child's chest for a few moments in order to obtain the effect desired, which the ritual action if performed by the father would have accomplished.

751 We venture to attempt an explanation of the last two
854 phenomena as follows: The object that is sought in the fulfillment of these two traditional customs is to drive away from the child the presence of the wanurú or the evil spirit of sickness. The pressure exercised by the father's foot or, lacking this, [66] by
[753 the father's old sandals, symbolizes his presence in the child
126] precisely in the place where the spirits in order to attain their evil designs often lodge in the child's body, i.e., its chest, as we shall have occasion to see in the following chapter. This symbolic presence of the father prevents the spirits from approaching near the child to work it harm. Lastly, the custom of wrapping the cinch of [the harness of] the horse on which the father will be traveling around the body of the child is intimately linked
[125] with the belief of these natives that the horse has the power to frighten away the wanurú, or spirit of sickness, with its snorting; more simply this same protection is achieved by placing a horse's skull in a place near the houses. (Cf. "Amulets, Fetishes, Talismans." Also, in this case there is a substitution of the magic formula (using the cinch instead of the horse), a substitution that has exactly similar effects and the action of which could be based on one of the laws of magic established by Sir J. G. Frazer

[66 cont.]
751 according to which "things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed." (45) [Cited in Spanish.]

45. Frazer. La Rama Dorada [The Golden Bough], III, 27.

751 There is another medical preventative, also of a magic
843 nature, taken to avoid infant mortality in Guajiro marriages after the death of the first-born child. This preventative obliges
[746] them to bury the body in a certain manner. It also imposes upon the mother a further seclusion, such as she underwent on reaching puberty (ceremony of initiation), and entails her taking certain medicines extracted from vegetable roots. If all these prescriptions are not fully complied with, her future children will die successively as soon as they are born.

844 Once the child is born, the placenta must be thrown a long way away from the house and completely lost to sight. If
[747] it is buried it will bring bad luck to the child, who in consequence of such an imprudence will live a weakling and suffer greatly until his death.

853 When only two or three days after the mother has given
827 birth, her breasts badly swell with severe pains and a lack of
755 milk, her husband must place his foot on her naked breast, pressing lightly on it, with which treatment the woman will recover. When a mother loses her milk after a long period of breast feeding and is no longer able to nourish her child, she must be struck on her shoulder and her breasts a number of times with the branches of a plant which is found mainly in the neighborhood of [67] Puerto Estrella and which on being cut emits a white liquid.

826 The Guajiro takes great care of any of his hair which has
754 been cut off, as he is afraid that it can be used to do him harm. This fear is based on the belief that if anyone can obtain possession of a lock of hair, whatever harm he may do to this will react directly on its owner; if that hair, for example, is thrown on the fire, its original owner will suffer a similar fate:

[67 cont.]

826 754 he will die consumed by flames. Likewise, if a lock of human hair is buried with a small quantity of dog excrement, the person who carries out this act of witchcraft can cause any harm he wishes to the owner of the hair.

648 757 Medicine practiced by foreigners. To ensure that his child will be sound and fit and show greater resistance to sickness, the Guajiro father makes use of the medicine of the Arhuaco, who like the other natives we know connect this art directly with magic. It is well to take note, before pursuing this description, that the Arhuaco are held to be excellent doctors by all their neighbors, not only by the Indians but also by mestizos and mulattos, and even by Whites. The fame of these curers is such that sick people from the neighboring cities of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and even from Maracaibo have themselves carried to them to be cured of their illnesses, or, as a last resort, send them some of their personal articles of underclothing by which the Arhuaco curer determines the sickness from which the individual is suffering and sends the necessary medicines.

The Guajiro have not escaped this influence. Their geographical nearness facilitates communication with the Arhuaco, but we do not know whether this interchange of relations was already established before the Conquest or if it is due to the external influence of the colonists who have settled on the slopes of the Sierra or in regions close to them, who in their turn have transmitted the legend of the fame of the Arhuaco as doctors to the Indians of La Guajira.

757 751 278 843 The fact is that generally, shortly before the birth of a child or when some opportunity presents itself, the father goes to the Arhuaco, and from one of them who knows the preventative or curative value of plants he obtains several of these in order to doctor his child or prevent its sicknesses. Among these herbs are the vira-vira, quina dulce ["sweet quina"], the frailejón, and a number of others. These herbs are shredded and put into a bottle containing rum and to this mixture is added two kinds of drops, also of plant juices, which have been carefully [68] "whispered" or "muttered" over by the Arhuaco doctor. These drops, in addition to the plants to which we have previously

[68 cont.]

757 referred, are what contain the curative properties because of their
751 magic force. These medicines are applied in the following
278 manner: The infusion of herbs with rum and the drops "whis-
643 pered over" are added to previously boiled water, and the child is bathed at birth with this mixture. When the mother feels the pains of approaching childbirth, she also takes a glass of this mixture and repeats this a few moments after the child is born, which helps her to get rid of the placenta.

• • •

75 Thus far the notes that we have concerning the magico-preventative or curative medical methods of the Indians of La Guajira [sic]. These show first, how medicine, like birth, sickness, and death, is subject to a series of cultural patterns, the result of the individual's relations, magic or spiritualistic (so far as the spirit of the dead is concerned), with his environ-
774 ment. The latter are to be understood in their widest meaning, since as Doctor W. Born says:

> "Primitive man's intellectual world is not really limited to sorcery since there are too *many enigmas facing young humanity such as* birth and death, dreams and sickness. To explain these, primitive man appeals to various supernatural forces. From experiences in the world of dreams, he derived the belief in a soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death. The power of the soul to free itself from its body (as dreams seemed to indicate) accepted, it was natural that he should accept the possibility of the existence of independent and active souls in nature. This state renders feasible not only a polydemonism but also the notion of a material soul. Polydemonism admits that a demon, a sort of soul, lives in everything in nature, while the substance of the soul is an invisible energy which emanates from objects. As the substance

[68 cont.]

714 of the soul is uniform, so also the effects of all things are magically related to one another." (46)

46. Born. Fetiche, Amuleto, Talisman [Fetish, Amulet, Talisman], p. 3.

This polydemonism of which Dr. Born writes, or spiritism as we have called it, can be seen more clearly in the life of the Guajiro communities in the chapter which deals with the [764] aspect of funerals. All the ceremonial relating to the dead is filled with this belief [68] in the universal soul and in the survival of a personal soul after death.

755 In the chapter we are dealing with we see it also clearly established, especially in the curative methods followed by the shaman, or medicine man, who seeks the assistance of his protector spirit or spirits to find out the kind of illness the sick man is suffering from and the manner of eradicating it from his body, as well as in certain aspects of household remedies consisting of prevemative methods. In no way different are the 764 783 784 taboo prohibitions related to the dead, the burials and exhumations in general, animals sacrificed in funeral ceremonial, and persons who have been in contact, directly or indirectly, with the dead by assisting in the burial or exhumation of human remains, in digging graves, in imprudently gazing on the placing of a burial in the grave, etc., all of which contaminate with the essence of the dead, who by his very nature, by the act of having passed to a higher life situated on a plane of superior potentialities to that which he has left, is converted into something dangerous, sacred or impure, as the case may be, and for this reason contaminating.

751 This contaminating action of the dead also appears in the 775 aspect of medicine since they endeavor to avoid possible harm to children before birth and therefore to pregnant women or those in acual childbirth, because, as we have already seen these are the most likely victims of the malevolent action of spirits. Children especially receive such influences through their parents when they are in the mother's womb and have such poor means of self-defense.

[69 cont.]

of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (32.97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Anqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

753 751 [73] In the Guajiro mentality sickness, as we were able to see in the corresponding sections ("Medicine and Sickness" and "Life Cycle of the Shaman"), is not something provoked by natural causes but is the consequence of the malevolent action of some special being, above all, of a spirit. So a series of beliefs, magic preventatives, have been established in order to avoid or ward off the hostile action of these spirits on the individual, as we were able to note in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine." We also saw in the matter relating to magic and sickness how certain animals, plants, and objects could be agents by contamination or participation in the cause and development of [775] sickness. But it is particularly the spirit of the dead, offended and malevolent, that causes major disasters among the Guajiro, as is shown by their beliefs and their own preventative systems.

192 753 775 We can get aid from linguistics to clarify this concept. The word that the Guajiro uses for illness in general is wanurú, and the same word is the one that is used for the spirit of the dead – the devil, according to all writers and even to the na- [797] tives themselves, due to the effects of religious acculturation provoked by the Capuchin fathers. Still further, if we break [196] down the word we find that it is formed of three special particles, wa, num ru, which separately correspond to three different concepts: Wa is derived from the first person plural of the personal pronoun wayú, which means "we"; nu, or simply n, is nothing more than the general contraction of the third person singular of the personal pronoun niá, "he," and rú is a relative particle derived from surú or hurú (s or h according to which dialectal zone the word is taken from), which signifies "inside," "inside of," or "within." In view of the idiomatic composition of the Guajiro dialect, we can with all safety translate the word wanurú as follows: "he, inside of us." The linguistic construction therefore corresponds to a social reality: sickness, wanurú, is nothing more than that: the spirit of the dead that has entered an individual in order to cause him a particular illness for some disrespect or other that he has shown toward the spirit, or simply just because it is a malignant and vindictive spirit.

171 753 775 756 The relation sickness – death – spirit, which will later be the object of a special study on our part, can be proved through linguistics in many of the aboriginal Colombian and even American

762 783 [77 cont.] should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

762 769 775 The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event, is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

775 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a 764 775 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

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55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

[78 cont.]

751 or another powder, achiote, mixed with tallow or other animal grease of some kind, which prevents the severe sunburn which the strong desert sun can cause.

764 The following facts give clearer and more convincing
775 proof of the reality of the dead as beings who pass to another life, to a certain point a material one. When a person dies the relatives usually place by his side at the moment of burial a small portion of chicha in a gourd; they also put in some meat and rum, as indispensable nourishment which he will require during the long journey he has to make. After the burial they place on his grave one of the objects of his personal ownership which had been used by him to satisfy his primary necessities. These objects [79] can be: a night glass (influence of acculturation through civilizado elements) if he is a rich Indian; the jug he used to drink from, or the plate he used for meals. In the case of a woman, in addition to these objects they place a special one, something which she greatly liked and worked with during her life – for example, her spindle. Furthermore, after having buried the dead person, they light small fires for several nights so that the spirit can find the way it has to travel in its passage to the other world and will not be inconvenienced by losing its way, an inconvenience which might lead to trouble for its relatives.

On the other hand, when the Guajiro Indian has emigrated from his country for various reasons, especially in times of extreme summers when poverty becomes felt in an alarming way, and falls ill on foreign soil, his great concern is the need to return to his native land as soon as possible in order to die there and be buried in the cemetery where the remains of the ancestors of his family group lie. This concern, which could be interpreted romantically as a sentimental one, a simple manifestation of homesickness, has another explanation, more sociological and conscious, related to life beyond the tomb. This is that the Guajiro, whatever his social or family condition may be, is convinced that after his death he will have to travel a long way

[86 cont.]

In these magic practices we can observe the following facts: 1) The burial of the first-born infant face downward in a funeral urn prevents succeeding children dying in the same way. If he is buried face upward, the future children will all unfailingly die. The spirit of the child is, then, like that of all other dead adults, a spirit capable of doing harm, but its influence can be easily counteracted by varying the normal position of the head at the time of burial. 2) There is here the intervention of a special tree, the huruwí, the reason for which is at present unknown to us but which presupposes its possessing certain magic properties, as it is below this tree and no other that the body of the first-born must be buried. 3) The presence of the father or of the mother at the moment of burial would cause the death of their future children, which corroborates the above statement that the spirit of the dead, even that of the newborn child, by its death makes its influence felt in the matter of conception, as we have seen in other cases. (Cf. "Magic and Sacrifice" and "Sickness and Medicine"). 4) The mother has to undergo or relive the ceremonial of the initiation rite as this, which is also directly connected with magic, prepares a woman for her life as such. If we make an analysis we can presume or reproduce the mental process of the Indian in this case. If the initiation rite has as its special function the preparation of the woman for her place in society and in the family and if, in spite of it, the first-born -- which implicates one of her principal functions: conception -- dies, it must mean that the said rite was not carried out in all solemnity, all and each of its [87] fundamental parts were not complied with, and it is necessary to repeat them. The mother of a dead first-born is placed then in the condition of an adolescent.

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We said in one of the sections in the chapter "Sickness and Medicine" that the child is regarded by primitives as a being defenseless up to a certain point, and that for this reason he needs

[98 cont.]

It is very interesting at this point to emphasize the fact that these hunting charms, in both cases, take the shape of the excrement of the animal that is to be hunted. We cannot allow to pass unnoticed this constantly recurring presence of excrement in the matter of magic. Let us recall the fact which we have frequently mentioned that for certain umbilical illnesses in children they apply excrement; that to call up their protector spirits the shaman use talismans that are shaped like goat excrement; and young Guajiro women bury their hair underneath patches of cow dung in order that they may be bought for wives at a good price.

These phenomena make us think of a very important function of excrement in the Indians' belief in magic, a function that [99] we know about only in its external aspects, but its application does not surprise us even though its explanation still appears obscure.

One has to remember that the guano of birds, according to Guajiro myths, was what favored the spread of seeds and populated the country with nourishing and useful plants for man and beasts. One of our informants recounted this part of the Creation in the following manner: "Then Mareiwa brought together all the xaxalargas (wading birds), toopials, and doves in a flock. He pointed out the far distance and told them to go in search, and there they ate of the jwardya (fruit of the cardon) and prickly pear. He ordered them to bring the fruit of the cherry trees, and Mareiwa made it rain throughout all La Guajira. Each dove went about spreading his droppings, and where these fell there sprang up all the plants which both the wayú (Indian) and their animals could eat. So were propagated the cardon and cherry trees, and the earth was rewh...."

Charms for war. This charm has the virtue of giving its owner complete bodily immunity in the fights which frequently arise between the various family groups. For this reason, before getting ready for combat, when on the way and in fear of a surprise attack, or when he goes to present a claim for compensation payment in the case of the violent death of one of the members of his clan, the Indian will rub himself all over with

[99 cont.]
751 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune
726 from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage
579 and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called ranfa in Guajiro.

754 The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation, as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colombia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally encountered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to
563 racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terrible races of Mestinos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and everyday more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América [The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 196.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very general belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

[100 cont.]
954 also effective on birds, which die in a short time when they have
the evil eye put on them. To protect the children they are
[951] made to wear rings or bracelets made of jet beads, buzzard [chulo]
bones, guache [a certain serpent] teeth, or male and female
coral stones. They also avert the evil eye by singing three hymns
over the sufferer.

"We also find this superstition in Spain. The physician
171 954 Rodríguez López, referring to Galician superstitions, writes:
951 'Here, where the belief in the evil eye is so strongly held, it
is exceptional for a mother not to hang round her child's neck
certain relics, herbs, horns, or other objects of all shapes and
sizes, or at other times to sew them on to their children's clothes,
or tie them to their wrists to protect them from the contagious
effects of the evil eye.'" (60)

60. Arias, Juan de Dios. Supersticiones Populares [Popular Superstitions], pp. 265-266.

Besides this, in the study made by the Licentiate Panesso Robledo on Antiochian folklore we find the following:

"Not only country people but also city dwellers wear opals, nearly all imitation, to protect themselves from evil actions, and on their children's wrists they tie black beads, called jet but rarely genuine, to keep them safe from the evil eye, a universal superstition whose effects if they really occur are to be imputed to the phenomena of auto-suggestion or hypnotism." (61)

61. Panesso R., Antonio. Del Folklore Antioqueño [Antiochian Folklore], p. 25.

951 Leaving Colombian folklore and limiting ourselves to that
954 of La Guajira, we find there that jet is the best charm to protect
823 one from the evil eye, [101] which especially affects children.
865 This evil effect is not obtained if the person on whom it is
practiced carries jet on his person, since it has the property of
counteracting the evil. According to the belief, when the evil
eye has been cast upon a person carrying a piece of jet, this

751 823 855 754

[101 cont.]
breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly receives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

[102] Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 754 824 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this evil, "oxeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 825 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habitations the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [103]

(102)

head the party, and these insist that the rest of the caravan who are riding on burros or are on foot follow them closely.

If the wanuri fears the neighing of horses, it is also afraid in the presence of its skull. The important element in this belief is that its appearance must date from the Post-conquest period, since the natives did not have horses before that event. It is thus a belief acquired through acculturation. Our hypothesis is that it was introduced by the Negroes, as similar beliefs are found in the mining regions of Antioquia, as we can show by quoting Tomas Carrasquilla in his work La Marquesa de Yolombó [The Marchioness of Yolombó], the plot of which is unfolded in colonial times in these regions. He speaks of the popular belief in demonic monsters, especially by the Negro slaves who worked the mines, and refers particularly to a special being whom the simple people named the pate-tarro [pata de tarro, "can foot"], "a giant who had only one foot of flesh and bone. If it were not that this great scoundrel was scared to death by skulls of cows, there would not have remained alive a single pawpaw tree in these mountainous cultivated lands."

The similarity is obvious: A cow's skull keeps away evil spirits and averts their wickedness. The difference lies in something of minor importance -- one is the skull of a cow, the other that of a horse. The beings against whom they direct their evil are different by reason of mere accommodation to the cultural atmosphere in which the belief is implanted.

Charms for becoming rich. This charm is acquired, as are all others, by purchase from a Guajiro woman experienced in the matter. Almost always the owner of such a charm is a man who by means of its power has acquired considerable wealth, because his charm will not allow him to do any bad business. It counsels him on what operations he must accomplish, it points out to him the profits that he could obtain from certain financial operations, and, above all, it guarantees him success in whatever business he undertakes.

The charm is kept inside a small wool bag, and with it he keeps a gold bead and at times a gold necklace. The part of the charm that we might call nonmaterial is produced by the various

[103 cont.]

This charm is personal and nontransferable. If a person who is not the legitimate owner should touch it, he has to submit to the diet just described or his punishment will be madness; his character will be changed, he will have fits of anger without apparent or justified cause, he will suffer from permanent nervousness, and his mind will be come deranged. However, he may look at the charm with the owner's permission without suffering any change in personality. It is useless to steal the charm as it will give no aid to the thief but will remain faithful to its original owner and will most likely cause harm to him who may have appropriated it illegally.

As do nearly all charms, it has its special covering and is kept together with achiote in three successive bags which have been knitted from wool by [104] the same Indian woman who inspired the charm with its magic power. As a matter of fact it is not known of what the charm is made because it cannot be completely uncovered.

What is the quality it pomesses that makes it so valuable? The native belief insists that when the owner sleeps it makes him dream what is going to happen to him down to the most insignificant detail. During his sleep it tells him who his hidden enemies are, what people wish to do him harm, where they will spy on him when he is traveling on the road, what difficulties he will encounter in the negotiation of an agreement, what words he should use, etc. The owner of the charm wakes up with a start, gets up immediately, quickly finds the charm, and taps it lightly, which averts all evil.

According to the Indians, the charm is like another person that is in every place where its owner is not; it knows the intentions of other people, deduces what is going to happen, and warns its master.

Charm for the sea. In Ríohacha one of the Indians who assisted in fishing and the cartage of cargo to and from the ship at the wharf wore, hanging from his neck, a piece of bark of a tree the species of which we could not determine. When we asked him the reason for the charm, he explained that he wore it to safeguard himself from the waves of the sea, that is, to avoid being drowned if some day he should fall into the sea.

[104 cont.]

226 Never again during our visit did we come across this type
751 of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not be-
[177 long to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to
184] the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known,
are extremely superstitious.

*756 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to
778 which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans.
They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits
when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the
functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not
arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the
spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have.
One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who
[776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her
spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants,
some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate
the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young
shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro
[824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman
expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the
leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form
which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones
are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with
some of the former, are for the younger.

778 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at
789 present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of
[325 which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This
532] small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position,
and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the
Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their
[173] distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra
Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

[155 cont.]
182 626 789 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individuals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 595 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influ- [177] ence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy [654] for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

751 771 881 [156] Another institution that we see directly affected by magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly [761] the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

764 775 771 626 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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in a wide woman's tunic, dyed black with divi-divi. Her face was painted black, too. At her age that could scarcely have been necessary to save her complexion, but such painting is also a protection against dangerous spirits. The Gaffer carried his ceremonial dress with him, tucked away somewhere. This consisted of an oblong piece of cloth sewn up along one side and with a hole for the head at the top. It is worn draped in such a way that the chest is bare.

Thus our caravan made its way along. The animals' shadows contracted further and further. Soon the sun would be right overhead. The very air seemed to have melted in the heat, and the blue hills in the distance had begun to dissolve. Here and there grew a cactus, otherwise there was nothing but sand and salt to be seen. Slowly the caravan crept along. We spurred our mules and rode on ahead, but after a while we had to turn back in order not to go astray. We found the Gaffer riding and the Gammer walking. The Gaffer could hardly stick on. He swayed in the saddle, for he was as drunk as a lord, having smuggled with him a calabash containing spirits instead of water.

He was just about to take another pull as we came galloping up, and he was so frightened that he dropped the calabash, which smashed and the spirits ran out. At that we searched the old couple's baggage, despite their protests, and found another calabash of spirits. We gave the Gaffer a large coin for it. The two young ones were delighted at his misfortune, for his baggage had given them a lot of trouble. It was obvious that the Gaffer had started drinking early, for the loads on the donkeys in his charge were badly secured and danced about, so that one after the other had to be lashed on afresh.

We told the Gammer that she must restrain her old man, an order which the interpreter undoubtedly passed on, probably with some comments of his own. The Gammer was not popular with the two young ones, and Bristles would not lack the courage to tell a woman a few home truths. Gradually the Gaffer sobered up, and a good thing he did, for we were approaching an Indian rancho, where he would have to act as spokesman for me.

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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to with the years, and other strings of beads were put round their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines. Only the women took real pains about painting themselves. It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all over with black or red paint. This was not done for the sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sunburn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent. If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has secret significance. The women showed my wife red and brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

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wife and he perhaps could do with it. I knew what uma was, but had never expected to be offered a secret magical object by an Indian who scarcely knew me.

Uma was one of the many *ointra* or instruments of magic used by the Indians either to protect or help the possessor. Uma stimulated love. The Guajiro have not only their old Indian magic, but some of Spanish-Moorish and African negro origin. Where these ointra are concerned, it would be most interesting, though difficult, to find out which were of red, black or white origin. They differ in character, but one and all can be lent or hired to a person of the same sex and can be used by that person with as much effect as when used by the owner himself.

A uma love magic was most difficult and expensive to acquire. The equivalent of £30 or £40 was the current price, while the owner will normally charge £10 or £15 if he hires it out. A ointra must not be shown to any unauthorized person, as its power may then transfer itself to the person who happens to see it.

Love talismans were of different kinds. That considered to be of the best quality was a tiny pouch containing small pieces of what looked like the droppings of some sort of lizard. The magic stuffs of Guajiro often imitate the excrement of various animals. Others consist of little stones in a glass bottle, or a decoction of herbs, which the person on whom the magic is to be worked has to take or wash in. One powerful and unfailing love specific is the hair clippings of the confined majayura girl, mixed with the blood of humming birds and other ingredients, but that can only be used on the girl in question. With her, however, it cannot fail.

The love magic the young Indian now said he would give me was one of those little pouches, thus very precious. He was willing to let it go because he liked my pistol so much. He had no further need of a love specific now that he had got himself a beautiful wife with its help—and, he might have added, thanks to a good supply of cattle. And if he ever wanted another ointra, well, he knew where to get one. But he would not get any more wives. He was a

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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have 767
to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the
cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to
protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was 768
abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has
been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several 765
Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the 171
Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the
Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar
custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast
of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not
forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with
us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany 764
him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his posi-
tion there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat,
which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a [751]
black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends [782]
when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being [787]
murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the
threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that
the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to
happen was that the person threatened had to go out and
kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of [778]
slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in
the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making
cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person
was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in
the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of
thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone
beads and suchs were placed in the graves. Then, when for-
tunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was
obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany
him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there 761
is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the 776
dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

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When migrating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the mark. They make designs on

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minus an amount considered equivalent for the sexual right he had exercised. If a woman dies in her first childbirth the husband may demand the full return of the bride price (Simons, 1885, p. 792, however, states that the wife's relatives demand compensation from the husband). Adultery entails divorce with full return of the bride price. It rarely occurs, however, as the wife will be treated badly by her own relatives. At his death a man's wives are inherited by his brother, and next by his sister's sons; the women may avoid this by making a payment equivalent to their bride price. If he is of the Catholic faith his children may claim to be his legal heirs, which leads to conflict with the maternal nephews. (See Social Organization, p. 374.)

The influence of women in political affairs is sometimes noticeable. There are cases of female chiefs, and women are respected enough so as to be able to intervene and stop brawls.

Death.—Funerals are accompanied by festivities which last days or even weeks, according to the wealth of the family. There are some differences in the funeral ceremonies which are apparently associated with the particular sibs. These funeral feasts afford the best opportunity for display of wealth, and more than 1,000 head of livestock may be butchered. Every mourner who comes to the feast contributes animals for slaughter and continues to do so as long as he cares to remain. After the mourning period, marked by weeping and lamenting interspersed with drinking and feasting, the corpse, which has lain in a hammock slung from the rafters, is sewn up in hides by the women (men may not touch a dead body) and carried to the cemetery of the tribe. For a year or so, the body may be temporarily consigned to a shallow grave marked by a pile of stones. Food and drink are often placed in the grave, and, if the deceased had been a warrior, his bows and arrows are put in. A year or two later the bones are exhumed and reburied in a large urn. The exhumation is generally done at night and is accompanied by a feast. The remains are carried in a funeral procession to the dead person's birthplace, where they are buried in the family's own cemetery. The funeral urn is placed in a vertical position with the narrow neck of the jar protruding above ground to permit the free entry and exit of the spirit and to allow the remains of other members of the family to be added from time to time. A cactus hedge surrounds the cemetery, and in wet weather half a calabash is placed over the opening of each jar to keep out the rain. Whenever two relatives of a recently deceased person meet, they bow to the ground, shouting and groaning, for several minutes. (For a slightly different account of the burial of a rich man, see Simons, 1885, p. 792.)

If a person is stricken with smallpox the whole tribe moves away, only the family of the sick person remaining. When the death occurs they bury the body below the floor and burn the hut over the grave.